THE COMMON CAUSE, JANUARY 3, 1913.

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## Societies.

Registered as a Newspaper.

Notes and Comments ..... The Constitutional Suffrage

Movement in 1912 ..... The Conservative Party and

Women's Suffrage ..... Women Co-operators and the

Women's Suffrage Amendments

Some New Books .....

Minimum Wage .

#### FRIDAY, JANUARY 3, 1913.

Price One Penny.

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## Notes and Comments.

#### "1913."

To-day's issue of THE COMMON CAUSE is the first of a new year which finds Women's Suffrage on the very brink of a crisis. Within the next few weeks—probably within the present month of January—we shall know whether or not the first great victory has been won. For little short of half a century women have been claiming to be treated as sane citizens. Again and again Bills for their enfranchisement have passed their second readings, and have been permitted to go no further. It would not have been possible for successive Governments thus to disregard any Bills which affected the position of a large body of electors, and the persistent suppression of Women's Suffrage Bills is an object lesson upon the disadvantage of being voteless. Now, " at long last," a Prime Minister has promised that if enfranchising amendments are carried they shall be incorporated into a Government Bill. Naturally our enemies are leaving no stone unturned to prevent any such amendment from passing; and, since there are no sound arguments on their side, some of them have descended to falsehoods and to insinuations of a very base kind. The coming vote will test the honesty of the existing House of Commons from the highest to the lowest of its members; but it will not alter the final decision of the question. That it is beyond the power of any human being to do more than delay.

#### To Suffragists.

As to the members of the Societies and of the Union, we do not dream of urging them to be of good heart and to work on, ready for either event. To do so would be entirely superfluous. All that we wish them is the continuance of health, strength, and initiative, first in their fight for enfranchisement, and afterwards in the use to be made of it.

#### What the W.S.P.U. have not done.

One day in Christmas week, reports were published in two or three papers of the cutting of a wire that communicated with a railway signal. A letter containing a reference to "Votes for Women" was alleged to have been attached to the damaged mechanism. We are glad to reprint the statement on this subject issued by the Women's Social and Political Union :—

The Women's Social and Political Union has no knowledge whatever of the reported tampering with railway signals, and has no reason to suppose that any Suffragist is connected with it. The affair may be a practical joke, or it may be that the report has no foundation in fact, and has arisen merely to supply the deficiency of news attendant upon the holiday season. The act in question, if it had been committed, would not have been in accordance with Mrs. Pankhurst's injunction to all W.S.P.U. members to respect human life.

#### The International Franchise Club.

Another of those curious rumours, which arise nobody knows whence, to the general detriment of Women's Suffrage has now begun to spread concerning the International Suffrage Club, and is to the effect that the subscription is going to be raised from one guinea to two. The hon. treasurer, Mr. Goldfinch Bate, declares that there is no alteration and that the subscription is still a guinea a year. But although the subscription does not change the club itself does, and always in the direction of improvement. A service of hot luncheons and dinners has now been introduced as well as a reference library.

#### Australian Typists and the Minimum Wage.

We learn from the "Woman's Platform" of the Standara that the women stenographers and typists of Melbourne have formed an association with the object of getting better pay. The rate fixed recently by a Wages Board "determination" began with a minimum of ros. a week for girls of sixteen, and ran up to a minimum of 48s. at one-and-twenty. But Australian women expect much higher payment than English women, and the association demands 25s. as a beginning wage, with an annual advance of 5s. weekly; this at the end of four years would produce a salary of 55s., at which figure they desire to have the minimum fixed. It will be interesting to see whether they succeed in gaining either (a) an increase in the legal minimum, or (b) a trade-union rate accepted by employers. In any case, the action of these young women seems to contradict the favourite theory of some economists that a minimum tends to be accepted as a maximum.

#### Domestic "Sisters."

The Daily News and Leader of December 27th contains an interesting article upon a German institution in the outskirts of Berlin, founded about two years ago by a lady teacher. The object of the "Sister School," as it is called, is to train welleducated girls for domestic service. The students are generally daughters of professional men, and the curriculum comprises cookery, housework, the care of children, and needlework. When application is made for the services of a "sister," the matron, or some other lady connected with the school, calls upon the applicant, forms an opinion of the "situation," and arranges terms. Each "sister " must be allowed a free afternoon every week, one Sunday every other week from four o'clock, and a fortnight's holiday in the year. Six weeks" notice is required on each part. The salaries paid range from 30s. to 50s. a month—that is to say, £18 to £30 a year, with, of course, board and lodging. Sisters wear a brown uniform, are treated as social equals, are not required to take meals with other servants, and are addressed as "Sister Marie," "Sister Hedwig," etc. The demand for their services is so great that the head of the Sister School declares that she could place 500 girls a year, instead of 50, and similar institutions are about to be established in other German towns.



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#### The Case of England.

The great success of the German Sister School evidently lies in its providing for domestic service young women better educated and more refined than have hitherto been available. A considerable part of "the servant difficulty" lies in the fact that modern domestic arrangements demand a high standard of taste, refinement, and dexterity. In England, where so strong a preference is felt by women of all classses for non-resident posts, and where the servant who "comes in" is gradually ousting from small households the servant who "lives in," a Sister School would probably succeed best in organising a band non-resident Sisters. They would require to be more highly paid than the resident German girls; but in many cases they would be able to attend upon two households. Many ladies living alone would be thankful for the opportunity of employing young women who shared their own tastes and standards. To tired, delicate, or invalid people, the attendance of a refined, trained girl from a good family, instead of a girl whose "ways" belonged to another world, would make all the difference between comfort and suffering. We hope to hear that some energetic ladies are organising a Sister School in

#### The Dustman's Visits.

The Public Health Committee of the London County Council has been considering the by-laws about the collection of houserefuse which have remained unaltered for many years. Hitherto local authorities have been obliged to make collections at least once a week, but in several districts the dustman calls far more requently. In Hampstead, for example, he appears twice a week, while in Westminster, in the City of London, and, we lieve, in some other boroughs, there are daily collections. he committee is consulting the various Borough Councils as the advisability of altering the by-laws, so as to require the lections to be made more frequently; and some Councils, least, are opposed to the idea, on the ground of expense. t nothing is so expensive in the long run to the public as a sanitary standard; and infrequent collections of refuse, specially in crowded districts and in hot weather, lead nevitably to illness. This is just one of the matters upon which omen councillors are likely to be good judges.

#### The Underpaid "Super."

Chorus-girls and men employed behind the scenes at theatres ave been combining to secure a better rate of pay, and have n the whole succeeded. The mere "walker-on," who has been o much in demand since Dr. Reinhart's spectacles have become ashionable, still often receives considerably less than  $f_{I}$ . Some nagements allow a small payment, meant to cover fares, for hearsals; but anything more is unusual-although, of course, hearsals, taking place, as they do, at varying times of the y, and often in varying places, render other occupation more ossible than does the regular evening performances. At a rtain place of entertainment the actresses of mute parts were t first offered 36s., which rate was in the second week cut down 18s. for an unusual number of performances, and one of the ovisions of the agreement was that the employee should wear clothes assigned to her by the management. We are redibly assured that garments were sometimes presented for wear which had been previously worn by some other person and ad not been washed.

#### Pompeiian Barmaids.

A correspondent sends us an extract from Dr. Ashby's letter, printed in the Times of December 27th, about the year's excavaions in various parts of Italy. Writing about Pompeii, he

. . A "Thermopolium" or shop where hot drinks were sold was to be expected. Outside the shop, too, were a number of electoral programmes, in which the candidates are supported by women, very possibly those who served at what the workmen, before the excavation had been long in progress, not unnaturally began to call a "bar."...

he lady who encloses this passage remarks that she cannot iderstand why the writer supposes that the women voters were barmaids. Whether that identification be or be not correct, is interesting to have this evidence that the candidates were pported by women.

Chicago's Woman Judge. The children's court in Chicago has often been described in English papers, and readers in this country will learn with interest that a woman, Miss Mary M. Barteline, has been pointed to assist the male judge, Mr. Pinckney. She is said have had many years' experience in the care of girls, and is first woman to hold the position of judge in Chicago.

### THE COMMON CAUSE.

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### The Constitutional Suffrage Movement in 1912.

The year just concluded may be considered mainly as one of preparation for the Franchise Bill of 1913. For four years, since 1908, that is, this Bill has been expected, and suffragists have recollected Mr. Asquith's promises that the Government's Bill, though it would not originally include women, would be so drafted as to allow of amendments enfranchising them; that the Government would leave members of the House of Commona free to vote as they chose upon those amendments; and that if they were carried they would be incorporated in the Bill. Meanwhile, there was still another possibility in the Conciliation Billthat carefully-devised compromise which satisfied no human person, but upon which the tact and care of Mr. Brailsford had brought so many politicians to unite.

On February 23rd a great meeting, at which Mr. Lloyd George spoke, was held at the Albert Hall. Mr. George owned that he disliked the Conciliation Bill, and believed a better franchise would be obtainable by means of the Government's Bill, which he described as "the very best opportunity that has yet been given the suffrage." The chief danger lay, he thought, in a possible division of forces, some members demanding adult suffrage, and refusing anything else, while others desired a very limited franchise, and opposed anything wider. He strongly urged the necessity of concentrating upon something between, which it might be hoped would be fairly acceptable to all parties. He further repeated the pledges given by Mr. Asquith, and asserted, with the greatest possible emphasis, that they would be fulfilled. Any suggestion that they would be broken he regarded as "an imputation of deep dishonour which I decline to discuss '

On March 28th the Conciliation Bill came up for its third reading, having passed its second by a majority of 167. Many influences had been at work against it; and the Irish Party, considering that it would occupy time wanted for the Home Rule Bill, and possibly that its defeat would be regarded as a service by certain Cabinet Ministers, voted against it in sufficient numbers to prevent its passing; analysis showed that 11 who last year had voted for the Bill had voted against (counting 22 on a division); 23 who had voted for, now abstained, and 18 who had abstained voted against; making 63 Nationalists' votes to the bad as compared with last year.

This result made it painfully clear that the Irish Party could not be counted upon unless they were convinced that their party interests would be furthered by support of Women's Suffrage. The National Union perceived that a policy must be found which would make the Nationalists desire the friendship of the suf-fragists, or dread their enmity. This policy was discovered in an active support of the Labour Party-the only Party which had, as a party, declared in favour of the emancipation of women by passing (at its Birmingham Conference in January, 1912) a resolution that "no Bill can be acceptable to the Labour and Socialist movement which does not include women." At a special Council meeting held in May the National Union resolved to extend its Election Policy (that of supporting the candidate who was "the best friend " of Suffrage) from men to parties

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The Labour Party having now become a Women's Suffrage Party, it was considered that a member of that party was, by that fact, a better friend than a member of the Liberal or Conservative parties, and a special Election Fighting Fund was opened for the express purpose of supporting Labour candidates at three-cornered elections. That fund, at the end of 1912, stood at over £4,000, and is increasing. It was employed at Holmfirth, Crewe, and Midlothian, and in both the latter places Liberal candidate was kept out. Practice, experience and preliminary organisation have added strength to the new weapon, and at a General Election the seats of many antisuffragist supporters of the Government would be extremely precarious-a fact well understood by party organisers on both ides. It is significant that of the 49 candidates who presented themselves at by-elections during the year only eight declared themselves opposed to Women's Suffrage.

The Government's Franchise and Registration Bill was introduced on June 18th, and passed its second reading on July 12th, by a majority of 72-a far smaller one than that secured in 1908 by Mr. Stanger's Bill, under which women would have received a parliamentary vote " on the same terms as men.

To the Home Rule Bill Mr. Snowden moved an amendment giving votes to Irish women for the Irish Parliament-an amendment which anti-suffragists who approve so strongly of the electoral influence of women in local government ought to have supported enthusiastically, but in favour of which they failed to uplift their voices. The Government also opposed it, and it was lost on November 5th.

On the same evening the National Union held another crowded meeting in the Albert Hall, at which Lord Robert Cecil and Mr. W. C. Anderson spoke; the Liberal, Conservative and Labour parties having thus, in the course of the year, been conspicuously represented upon the platform of the National Union. The collections at the two Albert Hall meetings together amounted to considerably more than  $f_{12,000}$ .

Such meetings, however, although they are incontestable proofs of the important position occupied in public interest by the question of Women's Suffrage by no means represent the largest part of the work done in the country. Great meetings have also been held in Glasgow, Edinburgh, Liverpool, Manchester and Birmingham. In Manchester a campaign was carried on for a week, shops being taken in various parts of the city, and many meetings held every day. The lesser meetings held all over the country by the various societies have been innumerable. During the last two years or so a great number of municipal councils have passed resolutions asking for the Parliamentary enfranchisement of women, and numerous memorials from representative people have been presented from different localities. In Bootle, for instance (Mr. Bonar Law's constituency), 76 per cent. of the Conservative Association signed; 722 per cent. of the Town Council; 90 per cent. of the doctors and so forth; while in Mr. Lloyd George's constituency success was no less marked. In addition, a memorial, presented by the National Union Executive, drew attention to the fact that the Liberal, Conservative and Labour Women's organisations all demanded the vote, and also practically all great Associations of Women and organisations for social reform.

A new form of activity has been the enrolment under the title Friends of Women's Suffrage " of groups of people in different districts who are kept in touch with the general movement, and could be called upon for a certain degree of support and assistance in the event of special local effort. This elastic organisation is still of recent origin, but the numbers increase; London alone, for instance, there are five thousand ' Friends " as against four thousand members.

Within the Union itself growth has been rapid. The membership is between 35,000 and 40,000, and the number of societies 345-or if the London "local committees " are counted as societies, 395. The total income of the year has not yet been made known, but it is certain that it has more than doubled that of a Lord Chancellor.

#### "About Windows."

A correspondent sends the following comment on the paragraph About Windows," which appeared in last week's issue of THE COMMON CAUSE

CAUSE :--"It may be of interest to the writer of the Note 'About Windows' to know that in the New King's College Hospital, South London, the architect has introduced into the wards windows which can be cleaned with ease from inside the room. These are known as 'Austral' windows, from their invention in Australia by a settler whose ingenuity supplied the lack of sash-cord. These windows are arranged on a 'non-sash' basis; they are in two parts, but turn by means of a swivel, so that each pane can be washed by a person standing inside the ward."

## The Conservative Party and Women's Suffrage.

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Although Division Lists on Women's Suffrage Bills have usually shown a smaller proportion of support from the Con-servative than from the Liberal or Labour Party, yet a not inconsiderable number of the best friends that the movement has had have been Conservatives. The four successive leaders of the party, Lord Beaconsfield, Lord Salisbury, Mr. Balfour and Mr. Bonar Law, have all been Suffragists. No one is working harder to secure the inclusion of some measure of Women's Suffrage in the Reform Bill than the members of those great Conservative families, the Cecils and the Balfours, who themselves the best examples of the value of inherited political instinct and capacity. It is hard indeed to say whether Mr. Balfour is doing much to redeem the pledge which he gave to

a meeting held on January 10th, 1906, when he said :---" If, as we are promised by some members of the present Cabinet, there is to be a Reform Bill brought forward including manhood suffrage, I should never assent to dealing with the problem without doing my best to make it, not manhood suffrage alone, but women's

And dealing with the idea that the present electoral system could be fundamentally changed without including Women's Suffrage, he added, "I don't think this idea will be found practicable, and as far as I am concerned it shall not be found practicable." But there are others of his kin who are leaving no stone unturned to realise the hope expressed by the late no stone unturned to realise the hope expressed by the late Lord Salisbury as long ago as 1888, when he said: — " I do earnestly hope that the day is not far distant when women also will bear their share in voting for members of Parliament and in determining the policy of the country. I can conceive no argument by which they are excluded." From one point of view, indeed, it is easy to see that Con-

servatives have even stronger reasons than Liberals for supporting the two amendments-commonly known as the Norwegian or Dickinson amendment and the Conciliation Bill or householder amendment respectively-one or other of which will be added to the Reform Bill in the course of this month if members are true to the assurances they gave at the last election. Let it, be granted that the whole Franchise Bill is detested by the majority of the Party. They do not desire Adult Suffrage for either men or women, and they say, with much truth, that the country has shown no signs of desiring it either. But every Conservative M.P. must realise as a practical politician that the Government intends, and is able by means of its majority, carry through Manhood Suffrage. Every Conservative M.P. knows also that there is not the slightest chance (or fear, as perhaps he would put it) that the present House will add a measure of Womanhood Suffrage to the Manhood Suffrage proposed by the Bill in its original form. The choice that he has before him, therefore, is not a choice between the present franchise and an extended franchise, nor yet between Manhood Suffrage and Adult Suffrage; it is a choice between undiluted Manhood Suffrage, a suffrage including every crude and callow young man of twenty-one and upwards, and Manhood Suffrage tempered and mellowed by the infusion of a certain proportion of adult, responsible women voters.

No one who has worked among the electorate can doubt that the principle of household suffrage has an extraordinarily strong hold upon its imagination, and more especially upon the imagination of the Conservative part of it. Now, the Dickinson and Conciliation Bill amendments are alike based on the principle of household suffrage. The first of them proposes to give the vote to the women householders and to the wives of men householders, of twenty-five years and upwards. It thus recognises the partnership or joint-householdership between husband and wife. The latter, or Conciliation Bill amendment, gives the vote to the woman householder only. It is usually calculated that the former proposal would enfranchise about five millions, making women about a third of the electorate, and the latter proposal would enfranchise about one to one and a-half million, making women less than a tenth. Although the larger of these two proposals has the disadvantage (to the Conservative mind) of comparative novelty, it has certain compensating advantages, which led one M.P., to whom it was recently promulgated, to exclaim : "I call that a truly Conservative proposal.

The points which attracted him may be summarised as

(1) That while giving women a substantial share of representation, it would yet leave them in a decided minority in every constituency, thus meeting the Anti-Suffrage objection, which

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voters.

many moderate Suffragists share, to a preponderance of women

(2) That since the Franchise Bill proposes to enfranchise every man of 21 and upwards, it is only fair that married women should have the vote. To put raw lads in a position of superiority to their mothers would be bad for both and bad for the State.

(3) That married women of mature age would make excellent voters. Having something to lose and an interest in law and order, they are most unlikely to favour "wild cat legislation," nd may be expected to add an element of moderation and stability to the electorate. At the same time it is argued that they have a wider experience of life than spinsters, and are living less isolated and harassed lives than widows, also that you will get a more intelligent vote by putting the responsipilities of citizenship upon women at twenty-five, just when the other great interests of life are beginning to crystallise, than by waiting until the death of husband or parents has placed them the head of a household, perhaps at an advanced age.

Those Conservatives to whom this proposal is new are apt to say in a shocked voice : "What, would you give two votes to one household?" It may be pointed out to them that the Franchise Bill proposes in any case to give as many votes to household as there are adult males resident in it. Further, that if a bachelor and a spinster living in separate establishments are to have a vote apiece, it is only reasonable that when they come together and found a family, they should continue to have vote apiece, seeing that their value to the community and heir stake in the community are not less but greater than before.

If Conservatism at its best stands for the sanctity of those uman institutions which have stood the test of time, then surely t is thoroughly consistent with Conservatism to symbolise the ace in the State of the family and the home by conferring the all-mark of citizenship on those married women who, both in substantial fact and in popular sentiment, are the natural representatives of the domestic life and interests of the people. should the Dickinson amendment fail to pass, Suffragists will all back upon the Householder Amendment. For this modest roposal at least it cannot be contended that public opinion is not The 140 Corporations which petitioned in its favour during 911 included those of Tory strongholds, such as Birmingham and Liverpool, no less than those of more adventurous Glasgow nd Manchester. The claim to citizenship of the widow, who bearing all the responsibilities of citizenship and acting father as well as mother to her fatherless children, no doubt makes the strongest appeal of all to the mind of the majority of electors. Perhaps the claim of the spinster householder is really no less cogent to ose who see her struggling to make a living and to pay her hare of taxation out of scanty wages earned in a factory where her labour is minutely regulated by laws over which she has no

The Householder Amendment may be described as the reducible minimum of women's claims. Modest as it ould be infinitely better than leaving women out of the Reform

Naturally, such a network of various industry requires Bill altogether. It would make it impossible any longer to say the services of a large number of employees of both sexes. The ambition of the Women's Co-operative Guild was to that sex was in itself an absolute bar to enfranchisement, and would so relieve much of the burning sense of injustice felt by get the payment of all these fellow women raised to a rate that so many thousands of women at this stigma on their sex. would allow them to live comfortably. A trade union (the The great danger which Suffragists have now to fear is that Parliamentary support will be divided between the two amend-Amalgamated Union of Co-operative Employees) already existed, and was open to women as well as to men, although nents which have been described, and thus no majority obtained very few women had joined it, and which had formulated a for either, although a majority of those voting have cast their minimum scale of payment for men. In 1908 a minimum scale otes in favour of some form of Women's Suffrage. To avert for women was drawn up after consultation between the Union this danger a spirit of concession and compromise is necessary. and the Guild. Its lowest rate was 5s. a week for girls of 14, Every elector and every woman should bring the weight of his and it rose by increments of 2s. a year to 17s. for workers of or her personal opinion to bear upon the member for the con-20 years old and upwards. The next step was to familiarise the stituency in which he resides, by writing him a personal letter various societies with the idea of the scale, and the suggestion asking him to give his vote to whichever amendment comes first, of it was discussed at meetings large and small. Joint deputaand, if that fails, to the other. Resolutions in the same sense tions from the Union of Employees and the Women's Guild sent up by Societies and Associations of all kinds are valuable waited upon Management Committees, and resolutions were evidences of public support. Copies of such resolutions should brought forward at quarterly meetings of members. be sent to the member for the constituency, and also to the December, 1912, the scale had been adopted by some 180 chief Whips of all the four Parliamentary Parties, addressed to societies, employing among them from 2,000 to 3,000 women the House of Commons, Westminster. and girls. It had always been the custom of co-operators to pay the highest wages—or more than the highest wages— current in the neighbourhood, yet—so inadequate are the usual How Long it Takes to Vote. A member of the London Society for W.S. recently recorded payments to women-the cost of adopting the minimum scale for women amounted to thousands of pounds annually. In one her vote at a municipal by-election and timed the process. Besociety-as a memorandum drawn up by the Guild tells us-the tween her entry into the polling booth and her exit there elapsed adoption of this scale added  $\pounds_{250}$  to the annual outlay for 50 seconds. And this is the operation which some gentlemen wages. Moreover, some societies, instead of taking the whole warn us will so occupy the time of women as to interfere with stride at once, proceeded to raise their rates by degrees. their home duties.

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### Women Co-operators and the Minimum Wage.

The Women's Co-operative Guild is an association which includes more working women-mostly married-than any other this country. All of them are co-operators; and, thanks to the Guild's custom of regular branch meetings at which not only the affairs of the local co-operative society, but those of the nation, are discussed, the majority of the members understand and are interested in all sorts of political and social questions. To attend a few branch meetings of the Guild is to realise what fund of intelligence and administrative power lies, too often undeveloped, in the brains of British wives and mothers. About these gatherings of twenty or thirty busy women there is a tone of reality too often lacking in the meetings of wealthier people; life, by them, is seen at first hand; they have to contrive he feeding and clothing of a family out of a weekly income which would not pay for so much as the lunches of many an idle man; with their own hands they mostly clean, cook and wash for a household; for them the bare facts of existence have not been masked by wrappings and waddings, and it is curious to note how swiftly and instinctively in their discussions they strike the heart of a matter.

For some years past this admirable body had set its mind on a reform which it has now achieved-a reform of which the effects are likely to be so far-reaching that historians looking back will count it as a landmark. To understand the full meaning of it some comprehension of the great co-operative movement is necessary.

The germ of that movement lies in the distributive societies with their local stores, in which goods are sold at the ordinary prices, while the surplus beyond actual cost is partly retained for educational or philanthropic uses, and partly restored (in the shape of a dividend on purchases) to the customers of the store, practically all of whom are members of the society. About half the members are women. Each society's policy is controlled by quarterly business meetings of the members, at which the Management Committees, who carry on the work in the intervals, are elected. From these societies has developed a great central productive organisation, the Co-operative Wholesale Society, the business of which is to provide goods for sale in the distributive stores. The Wholesale Society, nowadays, does business to the amount of £7,000,000 a year, and has factories in various parts of the country producing or preparing soap, biscuits, tobacco, shirts and clothes, boots and shoes, jam, tea and coffee, hosiery, and fabrics of cotton and wool. great federated society is also governed by quarterly meetings, but the constituent members, instead of being persons, are societies, which are represented by delegates. The government, therefore, both of the local societies and of the Federated Wholesale Society is absolutely democratic, and the controlling community consists almost exclusively of people belonging to what are called "the working classes."

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The local societies having been so far converted, there yet remained the Wholesale Society, which employed no less than 7,000 women. In 1910 a largely signed petition was presented to the Directors by the Guild, and friendly pressure was brought to bear upon the shareholding societies, several of whom sent in a resolution asking for the adoption of the scale to the conferences of June, 1911. The matter was adjourned for six months in order that a special report might be prepared. This, when presented in December, 1911, showed that more than half of the Wholesale Society's female employees were receiving wages lower than the scale, and that the cost of adopting it for all of them would be no less than £35,000 a year. These figures seem somewhat to have alarmed the delegates, for, although a considerable minority supported the resolution, it was lost.

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A year later, at the quarterly conferences of December, 1912, held in various centres, the resolution was again to be presented. In the meantime the Directors of the Wholesale Society voluntarily adopted the scale for all their female employees engaged in distributive work, about 1,000 of these being packers; but there still remained some thousands of women and girls in various productive establishments whose wages were below the desired minimum. The advocates of the scale, therefore, moved, at the recent December conferences, that by January, 1914, all female employees of the Co-operative Wholesale Society should be paid at or above the proposed minimum scale, and their resolution was carried by a majority of 139, the last of the conferences being held in Manchester on the 21st of last month.

The decision is of peculiar interest to suffragists, because it shows a large group of associated women using their electoral power for a social reform in the community of which they are electors, and effecting their purpose. It shows also that these working women, having educated themselves by prolonged consideration and debate about public questions, had come to have a high sense of their responsibility as employers, and preferred better payment for their workers to higher dividends for them-Such citizens as these are an honour to the country which has hitherto denied them a voice in its national affairs, and their achievement is a good omen of what women may do in a yet wider sphere when their approaching enfranchisement has actually come.

### Woman Suffrage Amendments.

Lately a variety of statements have appeared in the Press as to the wording of existing Franchise Acts, and as to the possible interpretation of the present Bill should the word "male" be deleted, especially in view of legal decisions of the Courts. It may, therefore, be useful to set down some particulars regarding the present statutes and the manner in which they have been interpreted by the Courts.

In 1832, the Franchise Acts referring respectively to England and Wales and to Ireland used the expression " male person " in those sections which conferred new franchises. In the corresponding Scotch Act, on the other hand, the word "male" does not appear. In the Reform Act for England of 1867 the expression used is "man," and in the corresponding Acts for Scotland and for Ireland of the following year "man" is also used in the sections conferring new franchises in counties and burghs, but in the Scotch Act in those sections which set up the University Parliamentary constituences the expression used in the enabling clauses is " person."

Some writers have suggested that to delete the word " male " from the present Bill at a moment when there is public movement to extend the Parliamentary franchise to persons other than males would be a change of so marked a character as to amount to an express provision and to override the proviso in Section 6, viz. :

' Except as expressly provided in this Act, nothing therein conincapacity to be registered, or to vote any right to be registered, or to vote."

Such views, however, can only be expressed by those who are ignorant, either of the principles universally applied by the law courts in the interpretation of Acts of Parliament, or of decisions already given as to the interpretation of Franchise Acts.

It has to be remembered also that, however illogical, decisions of the law courts as to the interpretation of expressions in Acts and endurance. of Parliament continue to be the legal interpretations of these expressions in similar contexts in subsequent Acts, unless such Acts make special provision for different interpretations. To have a clear idea of the effect of omitting the word "male," we must know the interpretation the highest legal authorities have given to the word "person" where it concerns Parliamentary

votes for women. This is to be found in the House of Lords' decision in the case of Nairne v. the Universities, 1908, where two of the three judges, who gave detailed opinions, said that the word "persons" should be construed as not including omen where it was a question of Parliamentary franchise. The fact that in this Scotch Reform Act of 1868 the word " person ' was inserted by the same House of Commons as had voted down Mills' amendment to substitute in the 1867 Bill " person " for on the understanding that this alteration would have ' man involved the enfranchisement of women, was not considered relevant, because no discussion in the House of Commons may be used to interpret an Act of Parliament. This, a universally interpret Acts of Parliament in the light of the discussion which took place about them.'

This principle would be applied in the same way to the inter-pretation of the present Bill should the word "male" be mitted.

Then, too, there are legal decisions as to the interpretation of the expression "legal incapacity" both as regards the right to be registered as a voter and as regards the right to vote. In Chorlton v. Lings, 1868, it was decided that a woman was subject to a legal incapacity to be registered as a Parliamentary elector, and, in Nairne v. the Universities, whereas it was not denied that women graduating were enrolled on the Parliamentary voting register, it was decided that they were subject to a egal incapacity to vote. These decisions also rule out the possibility of the omission of the word " male " having any effect in enfranchising women.

The omission of this word will do no more than make it possible to discuss in what form special provision shall be made for enfranchising some women.

CHRYSTAL MACMILLAN.

JANUARY 3, 1913.

### Some Aspects of the Woman's Movement.

A Conference of considerable interest and importance to all concerned in the Woman's Movement was held at St. Christopher's College, Blackheath, from December 16th to 19th, convened by the Representative Council of Girls' Associations. The Secretaries and other leading representatives of twenty-two associations working with and for girls of the educated and leisured classes met to consider the Woman's Movement in its deep and inner significance at home and abroad.

The Conference opened with an address on "The Woman's Movement : What does it mean? For what does it stand? " and Miss Agnes de Sélincourt (late Principal of the Lady Muir Training College, Allahabad) first gave a brilliant historical survey of the position of women from Hebrew, Greek, and Roman days down to the present time, and then proceeded to show that the demand for knowledge, for justice, and for the opportunity to serve lies at the root of the Movement to-day, both at home and The two morning Sessions of the Conference included abroad. brief meditations on "Christ's Teaching on Self-Realization and Self-Loss," and on "The Christian Stand-point : ' there can be no male and female, for ye are all one man in Christ Jesus,' followed by Intercession. Discussions, under such heads as Changed Ideals for Womanhood : Are we losing or gaining? were introduced by Miss Lilian Stevenson, Chairman of the Council; and "The Call to Women To-day, through Oppression, Aspiration, Opportunity: How can we bring home this three-fold Call to Service?" by Miss Eva Macnaghten. Addresses were given in the afternoons on "Moral Education, or God's Laws for Human Nature," by Mrs. Penrose; on "The Home, the Training-Ground for the New Ideals," by Mrs. Luke Paget; and the closing address by Dr. A. W. Robinson, Vicar of All Hallows, Barking.

Those present at the Conference realised afresh the immense significance of the Movement in its bearing on the economic, social, moral and spiritual regeneration of the life of our time. But the need was especially felt for some constructive ideal of Christian womanhood to be placed before the younger women of to-day, which will appeal to their awakening social conscience and eager desire to serve, whilst retaining all that is highest in the older ideal with its emphasis on gentleness, womanly dignity

Among the Societies represented in the Council of Girls' Associations are the following :---National Union of Women Workers, Student Christian Movement, Girls' Diocesan Associa-tions, Time and Talents, Girls' Friendly Society, Girls' Realm Guild, Lend-a-Hand Club. The Hon. Sec. is Miss J. I. Barton, Moorcroft, Weybridge.

#### JANUARY 3, 1913.

### "Democratic,"

We reprint the following excellent letter from The Daily Citizen of December 27th :-

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#### The London Society for Women's Suffrage.

The Annual Report of the London Society's 46th year of useilness is now ready, and shows, as usual, a record of great eal and activity. The membership of the Society, which has fifty-one local committees, is now over 4,000; its income from subscriptions last year was  $\pounds_{1,091}$ , and it received in donations for various purposes  $\pounds_{2,362}$ . An examination of the subscription and donation lists show that by far the greater part of these totals is given by women, and in small sums. The favourite and mutually contradictory anti-suffrage legends which declare ) that the funds of suffrage societies come from a few wealthy dists, (b) that they come from persons politically opposed to the Liberal Government, (c) that they do not come from women, re all alike disproved by these lists.

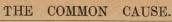
So rapidly do events move that this Report presented to the Annual Meeting on November 29th is already almost old. The Society's Bazaar-that wonderful display of industry and good taste-has taken place since, and so has the Bow and Bromley election. What else may come into next year's Report who shall venture to foretell? One thing, however, is quite certain; if further and profounder disappointment is in store for 1913, the London Society will meet it in the spirit shown by the following words from the Report for 1912 :-

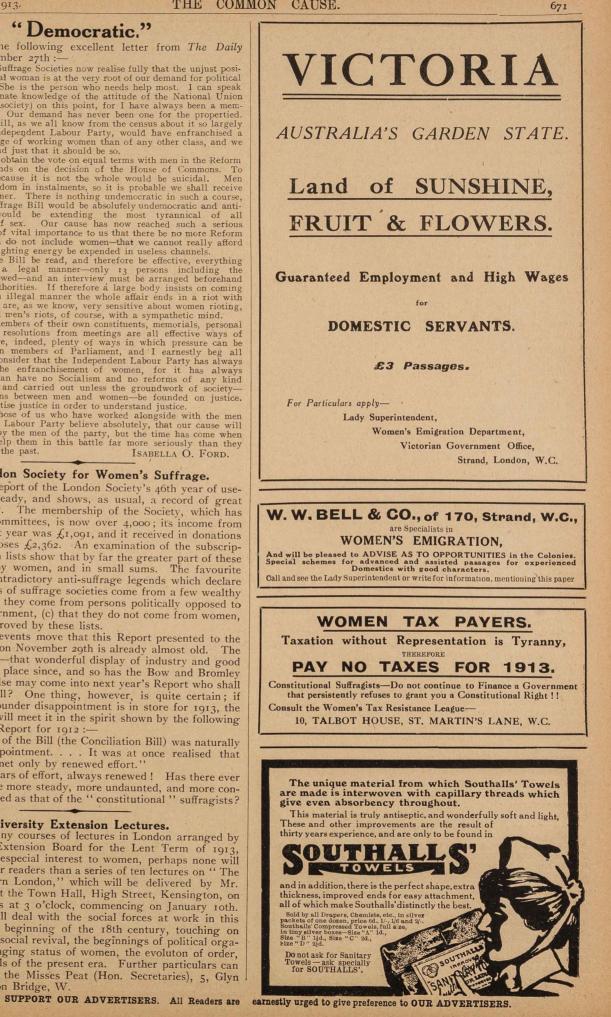
' The loss of the Bill (the Conciliation Bill) was naturally deep disappointment. . . . It was at once realised that

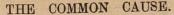
it could be met only by renewed effort. After forty-six years of effort, always renewed ! Has there ever been perseverance more steady, more undaunted, and more con-tinually recuperated as that of the "constitutional" suffragists?

#### University Extension Lectures.

Among the many courses of lectures in London arranged by the University Extension Board for the Lent Term of 1913, which will be of especial interest to women, perhaps none will appeal more to our readers than a series of ten lectures on "The Making of Modern London," which will be delivered by Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe, at the Town Hall, High Street, Kensington, on Friday afternoons at 3 o'clock, commencing on January 10th. These lectures will deal with the social forces at work in this country since the beginning of the 18th century, touching on the religious and social revival, the beginnings of political organisation, the changing status of women, the evoluton of order, and the civic ideals of the present era. Further particulars can be obtained from the Misses Peat (Hon. Secretaries), 5, Glyn Mansions, Addison Bridge, W.







## Some New Books.

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DIE SOZIALDEMOKRATISCHE FRAUENBEWEGUNG. By J. Joos. (Published by the Volksverein-Verlag, München. Gladbach. Price I mark.)

Anyone who wishes to get some idea of what working en's organisations have achieved in Germany cannot do better than read this little book, which in 80 closely printed pages gives a vivid summary, supported by tables, quotations and references to chapter and verse, recording the growth of the women's social democratic movement from its tiny beginnings to its present respectable size. Such a survey is full of encouragement, for the difficulties overcome have been enormous. Not only was it an arduous process to break down the ironical apathy of the men of their own party, but up till 1908 their political existence was absolutely ignored by the law.

The men's social-democratic and trade union movements have always been closely allied, but for the women this was still more of a necessity, since the trade organisation was the only one to which they might belong, and the place of the forbidden political association had to be taken by informal reading circles and meetings for discussion. By means of these and the paper Gleichheit, together with an elaborate system of "confidential agents" (Vertrauenspersonen) in every possible town, the Socialist women from the beginning took an active share in the political work of their party. This presents a striking contrast to England, where, in spite of the absence of the enormous disability arising from their political non-existence, the foundation of the Women's Labour League lagged more than thirty years behind that of the Women's Trade Unions.

The whole of this double movement is dominated by the powerful personality of Clara Zetkin, editor of *Gleichheit*, Socialist first and foremost, feminist only in the second place. To her is due the absolute cleavage which exists between the organisations of industrial women controlled entirely by her, and those of middle-class women, whose advances she rejected time and again with stinging vehemence. The existence of a **body** like the Women's Industrial Council and the foundation of the women's organisation of the Labour Party by a woman of the middle class would both be an impossibility in Germany. This cleavage has been a source both of strength and of weakness; of strength, because the unity of control and strength of the leader evoked the fervid confidence and enthusiasm of the followers, and because the men of the social-democratic party gave substantial support in return for the women's help; of weakness, because the industrial women were thereby deprived of the money and of what they were in still greater need, of the brains which the educated middle-class women could have placed at their disposal, as well as of the help which they would have gained in individual enterprises such as suffrage work by co-operation. It is impossible to pursue this subject further, but those who wish for information about the women's movement in Germany as a whole should also read the sympathetic little book, "Die Frauenfrage," by Dr. Robert Wilbrandt (price mark), in the series "Aus Natur und Geisteswelt." D. M. Z.

HINTS FOR WOMEN WORKERS. By Mrs. H. W. Macleod. (Australia, Victoria Government Department, Strand.)

This pamphlet is written for young women intending to emigrate to Victoria, Australia, as domestic servants, and sets forth the many advantages to be gained by "all strong, cleanliving experienced servants under 35 years of age," who are willing to try life in that country. Attention is drawn to the great advantage of assisted passages offered at present to domestic workers by the Victorian Government, and to the excellent arrangements made for the protection of such emigrants during their travels, from the time they arrive in London antil they are placed in their situations in Victoria.

#### Burberrys' Annual Sale.

January and February, 1913, will be memorable months for that large elass of persons who recognise the practical advantages of buying the best of everything, but have only limited opportunities and purses for observing this well-established rule of economics.

Burberrys are inaugurating their recent removal to new premises— worthy alike of their own reputation and the social standing of their customers—by offering the most valuable stock of waterproof clothing ever collected under one roof at enormous reductions in price. Burperrys' policy has been for many years annually to dispose of model garments of the preceding year's design at any sacrifice, so as to make room for the new season's stock. The material, workmanship, and

room for the new season's stock. The material, workmanship, and protective qualities of the garments are the same—only the price is different, and that is halved. The Burberry bargains include a large variety of weatherproof over-coats, gowns, suits and hats especially suitable for golf, motoring, travelling and all kinds of sport. A postcard to the Haymarket for a sale catalogue will be immediately attended to.



JANUARY 3, 1913.

JANUARY 3, 1913.

## New Year Advice.

#### From Various Quarters.

The Daily News and Leader devotes a page on the 1st of anuary to a symposium of New Year advice to women. From mong the numerous communications some paragraphs about Suffrage stand out conspicuously. Lady Aberconway, after warning her fellow-workers to be prepared for a possible great disappointment in this critical year, adds that out of sorrow at east one great advantage may be reaped :-

"Misfortune may be blessed if it brings women into closer union if it teaches them to trust and love and honour one another more."

Mrs. Fawcett urges women to help in the struggle for tizenship :-

" If it needs your help, it also offers you the greatest chance of your lives—the opportunity of playing your part in a great world movement which is steadily advancing the cause of human freedom "

Madame Sarah Grand pithily observes :---

"What we women want to realise is our own importance; until we do that, we shall never arrive at the full sense of our responsi-

Miss Beatrice Harraden's message to Suffragists is one that nany of us need to recollect :-

"I would implore all those who have been giving themselves unsparingly to the work of this great woman movement to take a little care of themselves in the coming year."

If we listen to that entreaty we may find it easier to fulfil the last nes of her letter, too, and

"to pass on our way with a song of gladness and gratitude in our hearts for this our great opportunity of service to the world."



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#### THE COMMON CAUSE.

## Foreign News.

Germany. At the beginning of the new Parliamentary session the Executive Committee of the German Union of Suffrage Societies sent to every member of the Reichstag a paper of questions asking his opinion as to whether women should vote and be capable of election, not only for the Imperial Parliament and the Diets, but also for churches and municipalities ; and, further, whether women should be eligible for (a) Boards dealing with trades and employment and with agriculture; (b) to aldermen's councils and juries; and (c) to municipal offices. On November 24th the Prussian Women's Suffrage Associa-

tion held an extraordinary General Meeting, at which Frau Caner, the foundress and first president of the Association, gave in her resignation on account of a change in the Association's policy. Frau Deutsch was elected president in her place, and Frau von Funck, vice-president. The elections under the new Employees' Insurance Law, which

comes into operation on January 1st, have resulted in the election of a considerable number of women. This new Bill, dealing with pensions and family insurance, relates to private employees with a salary up to  $f_{250}$ . The governing bodies are elected by men and women alike, and both are equally eligible, except that for the present women are excluded from arbitral functions. The results of the elections, as far as they had come to hand when the December number of Jus Suffragii went to press were most encouraging, and it is to be expected that the full returns will show a very fair proportion of women members.

#### Hungary.

Hungarian Suffragists are deploring the loss of Dr. Desider Markus, Judge of the Supreme Court, who had supported the Movement from its very beginnings, and served as Vice-President of the Hungarian Suffrage Association. Many encourag-ing signs of the Suffrage Movement in Hungary are recorded in Jus Suffragii. The National Council of Hungarian Women, at its Annual Meeting in November, for the first time had a full discussion on Women's Suffrage, and a resolution in favour of demanding votes for women when the Manhood Suffrage Bill is introduced, was unanimously carried.

The London Congress of the International Men's League aroused great interest in the Hungarian Press. It is interesting to learn that the Hungarian delegates were so much pleased with the International Franchise Club, that they are now organising a similar club in Buda-Pesth. English Suffragists vill look forward to being entertained there during the June Congress. Preparations for the Congress are proceeding apace, and arouse interest far beyond Suffrage circles. The Head of the Hungarian Post Office has even promised a deputation of women employees to arrange that as many as possible should have their holidays during the Congress, to enable them attend

#### South Africa.

We have received the two first numbers of the Woman's Outlook, the organ of the Woman's Enfranchisement Association of the Union of South Africa. As the Editor reminds us, its publication " marks the second step in the consolidation of the Woman's Enfranchisement Movement of this country." It is issued by the Literary Committee of the Association, and hopes "to keep as far as possible abreast of all important events in connection with woman's work in all parts of the world, and thus to emphasise the fact which is more and more evident, that the enfranchisement question is a world-wide one, and that if we do not exert ourselves, we shall not only be left behind and allowed to fall out, but that our country will suffer immeasurably through its women failing to maintain the struggle for their legitimate share in its government."

The Association has auxiliary Leagues at Durban, Maritzburg, Johannesburg, Pretoria, Bloemfontein, Kimberley, Port Elizabeth, Grahamstown, Cape Town, Graaf-Reynet, East London and Queenstown. The second Annual Conference was held in June of this year at Bloemfontein, when the Constitution was amended and various new sub-committees formed in order to organise and carry out a comprehensive forward movement in suffrage work throughout South Africa. One of the greatest achievements of the Association was the presentation to both Houses of the Union Parliament of a monster petition in April of this year, thereby bringing the question of women's enfranchisement into very great prominence. The extreme rapidity of the advance this year is in great part due to the stimulus caused by the visit of Mrs. Catt and Dr. Aletta Jacobs-

### THE COMMON CAUSE.

## Women's Suffrage and the Reform Bill.

The following letter, which has appeared also in The Englishwoman, is deserving of the greatest attention :-

Dear Madam,-It is rumoured that the anti-suffragists in the House of Commons do not intend to divide the House upon Sir Edward Grey's amendment to omit the word 'male.'

If there be such an intention, and it be carried out, antisuffragists will no doubt explain that they regard this amendment not as a positive but a permissive one. They would say : 'All right, if the House wants an opportunity to decide for or against particular plans for Woman Suffrage, we have no ob-jection. Let's get to practical business—we don't want to fight on preliminaries

Now, what is our position in view of this possible attitude? Let us take honest account both of our strength and our weakness

Three points are to be noted :

We cannot force a division on Sir E. Grey's amendment. We cannot maintain that the amendment is more than an enabling one, without agreeing to the contention of the Times that it is a womanhood-suffrage amendment. At the most a vote in its favour is a declaratory vote on the principle. But-3. We are not 'out' this time for a vote on principle, but on practice.

It has been the weakness of our cause in the House of Commons hitherto that we have had votes, ad nauseam, on the principle of Woman Suffrage, but no vote on carrying the principle into actual practice. Essentially it does not matter to us at this juncture whether or not we obtain another vote on the bare principle. In fact, what we should gain by carrying Sir Edward Grey's amendment without a division is simply a demonstration that the 'antis' dare not challenge a division in the House on the principle. They rely now solely on the hope of splitting up our forces, and beating us in detail on the question of precisely what classes of women and how many women are to be enfranchised. Personally, I cannot complain of this attitude. I do not think it a discreditable trick or manœuvre, but it is a direct challenge to us; it narrows the issue.

It is a direct challenge to suffragists of every shade of political opinion to concentrate on that Amendment which, by consent of all parties, is known to have the best chance-the Dickinson Amendment. Incidentally, this reported manœuvre of the 'antis' cuts the ground from under the feet of some halfhearted supporters of ours who have been thinking they might save their face by voting for Sir E. Grey's amendment, and subsequently only for one or other of the amendments which can e carried, and not for Mr. Dickinson's, which can.

There are, we know, a great many suffragists in the House who would prefer either a wider or a narrower franchise for women than that to be proposed by Mr. Dickinson. To all of these who are in earnest we must appeal once again, and can do so with renewed force in view of these latest rumours of antisuffragist intentions, to vote solid for the amendment standing half-way between the other two, which respectively represent the ideal of the Democratic and the Conservative wings

Let every suffragist Member of Parliament realise that he is a unit in a majority so undeniable that the anti-suffragist minority fear to meet it. And let him take the field this January armed not with the dummy rifles of good intentions and votes on principle, but with the powder and shot of firm determination to see the women citizens of this country, married and unmarried, represented in the next Parliament. Let Adultists follow Mr. Henderson, let Conservatives follow Lord Robert Cecil, into the Lobby on the division on Mr. Dickinson's amendment, and we have nothing to fear from our declared opponents. Yours faithfully,

F. D. ACLAND.

#### For the Complexion.

Have you ever realised how very necessary oil is to the health of the Have you ever realised how very necessary oil is to the health of the skin ? Without it the skin soon becomes harsh and dry. Nature is always exuding oil through the minute oil glands, but we, with constant applica-tions of soap, always more or less alkaline, and water, often hard, are robbing the skin of this oil. OATINE CREAM restores the oil to the skin, a thing that vanishing creams are unable to do, and in restoring it, not only keeps the pores open and the skin healthy, but cleans the skin and keeps the complexion clear, in a way that nothing else can do. A few applications prove this beyond question. Send a postcard to-day for a free sample tin and booklet on the "Care of the Complexion," to the Oatine Company, 282, Oatine Buildings, London, S.E.—[ADVT.]

The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. President : MRS. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D. Hon. Secretaries: MISS K. D. COURTNEY MISS CATHERINE MARSHALL / mentary) MISS EMILY M. LEAF (Press). MISN CATHERINE MARSHALL / mentary) MISS EMILY M. LEAF (Press). MISN CATHERINE COOKE. Offices : Parliament Chambers, 14, Great Smith Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

Notes from Headquarters.

#### Parliamentary.

In response to an urgent request from the Women's Suffrage Joint Campaign Committee in the House of Commons, Secretaries of Federations have been asked to send in certain tabulated information by Monday, January 6th. Those Federations which keep careful up-to-date records of all work done in their area, and its results, will have no difficulty in doing this but, in the case of some of our younger or less well-organised Federations it will probably be necessary for the Federation Secretary to apply to the Secretaries of Societics for the information required, and Annual Reports and Mniute Books will have to be looked through. Time is very short, and this is rather troublesome work; but we would not ask our Secretaries to undertake it if it were not important, and we feel sure we can rely on them to take their share in the "strong pull, and a pull altogether," which, we hope, will bring success in the next few weeks to end the "long pull," which has lasted now for fortyfive years.

When we remember that Mrs. Fawcett has been taking part in that "long pull" since the very beginning, and is still working as hard as any member of the National Union, we must all feel that, if success is once again to be delayed, it shall not be through any fault or negligence on the part of those of us who are still young at the work. We want Mrs. Fawcett, and all those pioneers who bore the burden and heat of the struggle in the early days, to feel assured that we of the younger generation, who are benefiting in so many ways by the fruits of their labour, will grudge no work and no sacrifice that may help to secure victory this time. And these next few weeks must find us all at our posts, alert and ready to render any service that may be required of us. Everything may depend on our promptness to respond to some demand made-perhaps at short notice-either on our Office at Headquarters, our Federations, our Societies, or even, maybe, on our individual members. We must have our whole machine in working order, and every man at his post, and be " prepared for the unexpected "-ready to meet unexpected dangers, and to take advantage of unexpected opportunities. Then we may have good hopes of success.

C. E. MARSHALL

(Hon Parliamentary Sec. pro tem.).

#### Conference on Education.

The first Conference of Educational Associations is to be held next week in the University of London from January 6th-11th inclusive. The papers which have been arranged seem to be of especial interest, dealing broadly with the whole field of education from the age of infancy to the post-graduate phase. the women speakers on this occasion may be noted Miss Phœbe Sheavyn, Ph.D., who is taking part in the discussion on "The Educational Issues raised by the Report of the Royal Commis-sion on the Civil Service "; the Hon. Mrs. Franklin, who will speak on "The Child's Share in his own Education"; Miss Fowler, whose address will deal with "Modern Language Courses at the University, with special reference to Teachers Miss C. A. J. Skeel, D. Litt., on "How Public Libraries may be made more useful to Students and Teachers of History ": Mrs. Pember Reeves on "The Household Economics of the Poor," and Mrs. Pillow on "The Home of the Poor." In connection with this Conference there will be a discussion on the afternoon of Thursday, January 9th, on the National Home Reading Union, chiefly by members who have had practical experience of the Union's work, and there will be a soirée, open to members of the Conference, on the evening of the same day.

An Educational Exhibition, which promises to be of much value, has been arranged by members of the Committee, and will be held in the Marble Hall of the University during the whole week of the Conference

JANUARY 3, 1913.

### Societies and Federations List of In the N.U.W.S.S.

#### Federations, Secretaries and Key to Letters.

North of Scotland .- Miss A. BLACK, 9, Victoria Terrace, 

(titish.—Miss Exsue INGLIS, M.B.C.M.; ; office, 2, St.
 Iandrew Square, Edinburgh.
 —All Scotland with the exception of the Inverness Burghs, the Burgh of Portrose and the Counties of Inverness, Nairn and Elgin.
 —All Northumberland and Durham.
 The Stern.—Miss Evans, 33, Spencer Street, R. Bo

son, 16, Cle G. Bolton.—Miss K. Boston.—Mis Road, Bosto N. BI

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All Westmorland and Cumberland, and in Lancs Divs. of North Lonsdale and Lancaster and the and East Ridings of Yorkshire.-The SECRETARY,

eum Street, York. and E. Ridings and the Ripon Div. of the Riding and in Lincs. the Divs. of Brigg, Gt. by and Louth. ding of Yorkshire.—Mrs. BAUER, 8, Springwood

the W. Riding with the exception of the Ripon

dmorden. d Distri t.—Mrs. BARNES, Grosvenor , Deansgate, Manchester. , the High Peak Div. of Derbyshire, all th the exception of the Wirral Div. and ry Div. of Chester) and Todmorden in

v. Riding. t Lancs, West Cheshire and N. Wales.—Miss JESSIE avAN, 12, Ullet Road, Liverpool. —West Lancs, the Wirral and Eddisbury Divs. of heshire, and in N. Wales the Counties of Anglesey, nenbigh, Flint, Merioneth, Montgomery, Carnarvon. nds (East).—Miss MANTD DOWSON, Sulney Fields, ber Broughton, Melton Mowbray. With West Advisor of the Statement of Statement of the Statement of Statement of the Statement of Statemen

pper Broughton, Melton Mowbray. --Notts, Derbyshire (with the exception of the High Peak Div.), Leicestershire, Rutland, Northants, and in Lines, the following Divs.--Lincoln, Gran-than, Gainsbord, Horncastle, Sleaford, Stamford

am, Gainsboro', Horncastle, Sleaford, Stamford d the Burton Div. in Staffordshire. nd (West).—Miss NOEL HERBERT WRIGHT, Sutton ;e, Solihull. Sec.: Miss HARDING, Southside,

-Counties of Shropshire, Stafford, Worcester, run Counties.--Mrs. KELLETT M A rwick and Hereford. n Counties.—Mrs. KELLETT, M.A., 4, Belvoir ce, Cambridge. Miss CREAK. Cambr. Essex, with the exception of Romford I Walthamstow Divs.), Herts (with the exception the Waltford Div.), Hunts, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Spalding Div. of Lines, including the Borough

-The County of Kent. ties outside Federation Areas.

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#### THE COMMON CAUSE.

## News from the Societies and Federations.

#### East Midland Federation.

**East Midland Federation.** REPORT.—The ohief event of the month was the Brazar, and Féte held at Nottingham on November 29th and 20th in which all the Societies of the Federation took par-ter the scale sponsore which all may be congratulated. And Cartse, It is not yet possible to give the eventsore mount to over 4400. The Lincoln and Grantham Societies have sent reports of their local work for the Bazaar. The Lincoln stall realised 425, of which 64 there are organisation of the Doll Competition, for which the construction of the Doll Competition, for which the construction of the Doll Competition, for which the construction of the Doll Competition, Lady May The Grantham tree in the centre of the room was decked with dolls of all sizes and prices, in all varieties of costume. The Grantham Branch realised the sum of edit.

#### ORGANISERS' WORK.

JOSSIEMOUTH. —MISS MACPHERSON, THE STUDIO, SSIENCE, Lighn, and Miss FORSYTH, Dalque sestemouth.
 MISS FORSYTH, Dalque SSIENDATA, STREAMERS, AND MID-DIVISIONS OF DERESTRIEL, MISS COWMEADOW and Miss St. John have been working in their three constituencies interviewing Secretaries of Trades Unions and other organisations and arranging meetings of their members. Mrs. Cow-meadow has addressed five Trades Union Branches and the Chesterfield and District Trades and Labour Council, and has always succeeded in getting the Suffrage resolution passed, generally unanimously. Public meetings have been heid at Hasiand and Staveley, and other considerable number of postcards have been sent of the MD-Miss PENNE REDFLE, Oaklands, Had-outland.

Southand. —Miss WILLIAMSON, 18, Buccleuch St. Hawick. hen.—Miss NewLANDS, 55, Traquair Road, intern. S.—Mis. JAMES FRASER, 19, Old Edinburgh Inverness. FRASER, J9, Old Edinburgh Inverness. Mrs. FIREMING, Abbey Row, Kelso. Mrs. Hardward Readow Library and 21 out of 24 Councillors. Considerable Jocal interest was aroused, and it is believed that with a little more work a Society could be formed in the constituency.

Harry Alloock. SOUTHWELL.-The Southwell Society had an Enter-tainment and Sale of Work at the Assembly Rooms on December 12th, which was well attended, the proceeds amounting to £18 is. 3d. A Public Meeting foilowed at which Mrs. Manners, P.L.G., of Mansfield, was the principal speaker. A dramatic entertainment was given by Mr Pratt's Company.

#### Manchester and District.

Mariotethshirz.—Mrs. FRANCIS LEWIS, Balkan Hill, Aberdovey.
 Merthyr and Dist.—Mrs. M. J. WILLIAMS, I, Lewis Tetrace, Heolgerrig, Merthyr Tydfil.
 Penmaenmawr.—Miss A. M. HARKER, Fernbrook Road, Penmaenmawr.—Miss D. H. WILLIAMS, Arden, Cardiff Road, Pwilheli.
 Rholda Fach.—Miss SARAH A. GRIFFITHS, I, Elm Street, Ferndale, Giam.
 Rhyl. Mathis S ARON THOMAS, Dolgoy, West Cross, Giam.

who said that if a Manhood Suffrage Bill was allowed to pass this time it would postpone indefinitely the enfranchisement of women. A second Resolution was pro-posed by Miss M. Robertson, "That this meeting earnestly begs Mr. Craig to vote for the 'Norwegian' Amendment to the Reform Bill, since that is the Amend-ment upon which friends of all parties are concentrating their forces." This was seconded and both Resolutions were carried unanimously.

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them. HUCKNALL.—The Hucknall Society held a Social Evening at Mrs. Lorgmak's Café on November 7th. Mr. Barkby was in the Chair, and Mrs. Barkby acted hostess. There was an attendance of over sixty, including several men who were evidently deeply interested in the capital address given by Mrs. Nesbitt, of Stutton.in Ashfield The number of questions which were asked at the close of the address proved that the interest of the audience the capital address given by Mrs. Nesbitt, of Stutton.in Ashfield The number of questions which were asked at the close of the address proved that the interest of the audience the capital address given by Mrs. Ward and Master Harry Alloock. SOUTHWEIL —The Southwell Society held a social South WEIL — The Southwell Society held a social the address were evention which were asked at the close of the address proved that the interest of the Monthly Meetings of the Sale South WEIL — The Southwell Society held and Master Harry Alloock.

SALE.—The first of the Monthly Meetings of the Sale Society was held in the Temperance Rooms, Cross-street, Sale, on December 11th. Owing to the bad weather the attendance was small. Miss Darlington took the Chair, and the Speaker was Mrs. Miter Wilson, who gave a very interesting address. A musical programme had been arranged which was very successful.

WHALEY BRIDGE AND DISTRICT.—A successful Sale of Work was held on December 4th at the Dingle, Whaley Bridge, by permission of Major and Mrs. Edward Hah. A special stall to raise money for the Election Fighting Fund realised the satisfactory sum of £2 1s. 3d., and the whole amount raised was £14 10s. 6d. Everything was cleared from the stalls by the end of the evening.

#### South Wales and Monmouthshire.

ORGANISER'S REPORT.—On Dec. 16th there was a meeting at Brecon to start a Society in the District. Miss Edwards became Hon. Sec., and Mrs. Rhys Powell Hon, Treasurer. Several new members joined. On Dec. 20th there was a meeting at Tylorstown, Rhondda. Mr. A. Davies was in the Chair, and Miss Davies and I spoke. The audience, many of whom had attended Mrs. Corbett-Ashby's meeting at Pontygwaith a few weeks before, were most enthusiastic, and 12 memes were given in at the end for membership. L. F. WAELNG.

L. F. WARING.

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#### Deputation to Mr. Goldstone, M.P.

Deputation to Mr. Goldstone, M.F. On December 14th, Mr. Goldstone received a Deputa-tion from the Sunderland branch of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. The Deputation consisted of Mrs. Arthur Johnson, Hon. Sec. of the Sunderland Society, Mrs. Blacklock, President of the Women's Labour League, Miss Sheard, Miss Beaver, organiser to the N.U., Mr. Walford Common, Mr. Dale, of the L.N.C., and Mr. Summerbell, Hon. Sec. to the LL.P. Mr. Storey and Councillor R. J. Wilson were to have been present, but were prevented at the last moment. Miss Beaver, who was speaking for the Deputation, thanked Mr. Goldstone for his constant support of Woman's Suffrage in the House of Commons, and said that they looked forward to his continued support. As it was a very critical time in Won an's Suffrage she felt that a definite statement from Mr. Goldstone would be of considerable assistance to the local Society. ocal Society

docal Society.
The following questions were put to Mr. Goldstone:—
(1) Would he support an amendment to delete the word "male" from the Reform Bill?
(2) Would he support the adult suffrage amendment? If this failed to carry, would he support either or, if necessary, both of the following amendments?:—
(a) The Grey amendment giving votes to women who pay rates and taxes and to wives of men who pay rates.

(b) The amendment giving votes to women who pay

(b) The amendment giving votes to women who pay rates and taxes. Mr. Goldstone replied that he would most certainly support the first two amendments, and if the Adult Suffrage Amendment, which he preferred, failed to carry, he would then go on and vote for the other amendments.

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#### THE COMMON CAUSE.

#### CORRESPONDENCE.

The Bow and Bromley Election The Bow and Bromley Election. As one who worked for the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies in support of Mr. Lansbury at Bow and Bromley, may I say a word or two in reply to "H." "H" asks: "Are the militants friends or enemies in the eyes of the N.U.? and replies "Enemies. Why therefore, support one?" And in a previous letter he says that if the National Union at any time rebukes militants, it gives them a pat at the same time, illustra-ing this statement by a reference to a portion of my report on the election in the COMMON CAUSE. I have not the files of THE COMMON CAUSE at hand, but the reference was presumably to my saving that the advoreference was presumably to my saying that the advo-cacy of militancy had done great harm, but that Mrs. Pankhurst had seemed to have had a good influence upon certain of the women, and perhaps of the men in Bow.

ranknurst had seemed to have had a good influence upon certain of the women, and perhaps of the men in Bow. Surely there is a fallacy in all this. The National Union is not out to condernn militants. It is out to win Woman Suffrage by honourable and sound methods, and therefore it would condernn, not persons, but acts of violence, the propaganda of anarchy, a war upon society or a sex war, but would work, by showing a more excellent way, and by speaking the truth. At Bow there was grievous evidence, unmistakable and abun-dant, of the harm of militancy—there was also evidence in the case of certain women and some men of good work done, not for militancy—there was also evidence in the case of certain women, which was traceable to the influence of Mrs. Pankhurst. A controversialist would say, mention one or the other of these facts, but a member of the National Union should surely be strong enough to mention neither or both. For the enfranchisement of women, shich was traceable to the institution one or the other of these facts, but a member of the National Union should surely be strong enough to mention neither or both. For the rest, Mr. Lansbury having resigned, as many of us including myself, think mistakenly, though nobly, he declared his intention of running the election / with Woman Suffrage as a prime issue. If the National Union had been absent, who could have bland the electors if they had said : "Anti-Suffragism we know, militancy we know, but who are the law-abiding Suffra-gists?" As it was, N.U. speeches were prominent everywhere, and always they preached boldly o vigorous law-abiding propaganda, militant in the Prayer Book sense, but in no other, and in so doing they won the confidence and approval of their audiences al along the line. In the result Lansbury and his old of alled, but Woman Suffrage won, for with the Conservative candi-date and the brilliant official organisation behind him opposed, with the Labour party and its organisation opposed, with the Labour party and its organisation oppose opposed, with militancy almost universally condemned Woman Suffrage polled over 3,000 votes of a total under 7,000. A. HELEN WARD.

### War on Poverty.

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they are outsiders, and that only men have any power to deal with what so intimately concerns the future of the race. Tor what is the legislation which is to be demanded ? First, "Reduction of hours of labour." Who needs this most? What working man, hard toiler though he be, works as many hours as the working woma? One man spoke of his wife having to rise at 6 o'clock every morning to go to work; at which there were cries of "shame." The ideal seemed to be-indeed, the speaker confessed it as his vision-that women should be kept at home. Dismay filled the heart of the writer, and she began two onder if even the men in the Labour movement were too old-fashioned to grasp the new woman's out to them that the day was already in the limbo of the past when woman's place was exclusively the home; and that in any case this was a matter, not for men-but for women to settle, they greeted the statement with a storm of applause, showing that, after all, they had grasped the true inwardness of human freedor. The third resolution was "A legal minimum wage." The third resolution was "A legal minimum wage." It is were not tragic, it would be anusing to think of men posing as authorities on a question so. The fourth resolution embodied all the others. "The present writer came away more firmly con intendely affecting the most urgent item on the formers' programme must be the enfranchisement of the tame."

To do them justice, however, if the Labour men were numerically strong enough, women would be set free to-morrow.

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#### [ANUARY 3, 1913.

### Forthcoming Meetings,

(ARRANGED BY THE NATIONAL UNION).

JANUARY 6. anbury-Miss Dunnell-"At Home"-Discussion on "The Vote and the Problem of

JANOAN, "Miss Dunnell," At Home "-Discussion on "The Vote and the Problem of Women's Wages"
kochdale—Assembly Rooms, Water Street—Smoking Concect for men—Councillor Margaret Ashton, Mrs. Chew.
JANUARY 7.
Hexham—Elverstone Road—Mrs. Browne's drawing-room meeting—Speaker: Miss Hare (Brighton)
Bath—St. Mary's Church House—Mr. Baillie Weaver and performance of Mrs. Baillie Weaver's Play
King's Sutton—New Schools—Meeting—Miss Haver-field, Miss Dora Mason, M.A.
JANUARY 8.
Baoup—Union Square—Open-air meeting—Mr. F.
Stanton Barnes, Mrs. Aldersley, Mrs. Chew.
W. Dullie Snowden M.P., Mrs. 4.15

3.0 4 30

7.0

Stanton Barnes, Mrs. Aldersley, Mrs. Chew. 7.30 http://www.scales.org/actional-standards. 7.30 http://www.scales.org/actional-standards. 7.30 msgate-Royal Sailors' Rest-"At Home" for members and friends-Miss Bertha Kennett 3.0 rk-N.U. office, 10, Museum Street-Miss Dutton 8.0 IANUARY 13. udermere-Waverley Tawnaranas Hittle M

13. —Waverley Temperance Hotel—Miss Helen Fraser —Queen's College, Paradise Street— Chair: Miss Kirby—Speaker: Mrs. Matthews

8.0 ANUARY 14. coates, J.P.-Miss Helen Fraser 8.0

LONDON. ANUARY. 10. . 10. ngton-56, Iverna Court-Hostess : Miss Lake-Speaker : Miss Lowndes (Annual Meeting) ANUARY 1

IANUARY 12. aphen-Men's meeting-Grafton Square Congre-gational Chapel-Mrs. Stanbury 3.0 JANUARY 21. Ington-St. Peter's Institute, Vincent Terrace-Literary and Debating Society-Miss J. H. Thomson, M.A. 8.30

#### SCOTLAND.

JANUARY 7. Jasgow-Meeting-Langside Hill U.F. Church Hall Dr. Jane Robertson 7.30 JANUARY 8. F. P. Williamson: "The Women's Movement from the Religious Stand-point." 8.0 JANUARY 10. Shandwick Place-"At Home"-Chair: Mrs. Melville 4.30 JANUARY 16. Shandwick Place-"At Home"-Chair: Mrs. Melville 4.30 JANUARY 16. Shandwick Place-"At Home"-Shandwick Place-Shandwick Place-Shandwic ANUARY 7.

NUARY 16. burgh-40. Shandwick Place--" At Home"-Mr. Lowson 4.30 burgh-Lauriston Hall-Dramatic entertain-ment, "Just to get Married"-Miss Carmouche and Miss Jean Pagan 8.15

#### EETINGS ADDRESSED BY MEMBERS OF THE UNION.

OF 111. ANUARY 6. Immingham—Saltley Sisterhood—Mrs. Ring Guild—Mrs. Ring Guild—Mrs. Ring 3.0 -Railway Women's Guild-Mrs. Ring 2.30

#### Meeting at Tiverton.

Drawing-room Meeting was held, by invitation of b. Jefferd, at Lloyd's Bank House, by the Tiverton and of the National Union of Women's Suffrage leties, on November 29th, when Miss Abadam spoke the White Slave Traffic in its bearing on Women's trage. Several new members were gained for the lety, and a collection taken in aid of the funds, united to £2 14s. 6d.

#### Irish Notes.

e organiser who has been working for the Irish-en's Suffrage Federation, visited the town of bridge this week. A great deal of interest was ed by her visit and she found many sympathisers the Cause. An excellent meeting was held at Porta-tan important town in Co. Down. Though only women listened with much interest to speeches Miss Montgomery (Belfast), Mr. Holmes (Queens-and Miss Blackstone. A resolution calling upon lember for North Armagh to vote for some amend-in the Reform Bill was passed unanimously. was supported by Mr. Farrel, a well-known local A good collection was taken, and Suffrage papers sold. <u>H. MONTGOMERY</u>.

Committee of the Irish Women's Suffrage and Local ment Association will meet at 33, Molesworth on Thursday, January 9th, at 11 a.m. sharp.

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